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The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr.

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information.

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I

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minimised the danger by arranging that every man who came to me for work should receive a definite stipulated sum as a recompense for his time and trouble. I paid, not for the information, but for the trouble taken in giving a day or half a day to my service. As a general rule, anything like payment by results was carefully avoided. The sum paid was for coming to me, and if anyone was reluctant to talk about one subject, we passed on to another. Only at the end of my visit did I depart from this rule on a few occasions, and offered rewards to one or two individuals for certain items of information; but by this time I was in a position to judge the value of the information I received, and I only employed this procedure in cases where I knew the degree of trustworthiness of my informant.

Definite methods for the verification of the evidence obtained were the more necessary in my work among the Todas, in that I was obliged throughout to depend on interpreters. I was, however, very fortunate in my assistants. I first worked with a forest ranger, Albert Urrilla, who knew the Todas very well, though he had no special knowledge of their customs. He translated faithfully, and, owing to his wide knowledge of the hills, he was extremely useful in helping me to become familiar with the names and positions of the many Toda villages. After about six weeks' work, Albert had to return to his forest duties, and, except for a week towards the end of my visit, the interpreter for the rest of my work was P. Samuel, a catechist who had been endeavouring for ten years to convert the Todas to Christianity, under the auspices of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. When he began to work with me, Samuel had a very limited acquaintance with Toda ceremonies, but he was very familiar with the general life of the people, and was especially acquainted with the actual working of many of their social customs. Some of the Todas at first objected strongly to his helping me, probably on account of his missionary efforts, but he soon overcame this initial difficulty and gained the general confidence of the people. He was well acquainted with the Toda language, and soon became a very careful inquirer into customs and beliefs, and I owe much to

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his help. He often obtained independent information about customs, and I was put by him on the track of much that might otherwise have escaped me. I had hoped that he would have continued to make inquiries for me after I had left the hills, and soon after my departure, he forwarded to me a very valuable account of a ceremony which I had not been able to witness and other important material. While with me he had discovered, however, how little progress he had made with the people during his ten years' work among them, and how little he had known of their beliefs, and, soon after my departure, he asked to be given a new sphere of work and was removed to the Wainad, so that I have not had the opportunity for which I hoped, of making further inquiries into the many doubtful points which always arise in working up the notes of anthropological investigation.

One of the chief dangers arising from the use of interpreters is that they will often transmit, not what they are told, but their own versions of what they are told. They interpret the meaning as well as the words of the informants. I think I can be certain that this danger was avoided with both my interpreters, and that they gave me as accurate an account as possible of what the Todas told them. We always used the Toda names for all specific objects, individuals, and places, so that the information transmitted to me by the interpreters was often in such a form that nearly every noun was Toda in a setting of English verbs, adverbs, and pronouns. Thus, referring to one of my notebooks at random, I find the following: "After cleansing the *poh* in this manner, each *palol* puts salt in the *ponmukeri*, and takes it and the *karpun* to the *upunkudi*, taking also five pieces of *tudrpiil*, five sprigs of *puthimul*, and a bundle of *taf*." In fact, we habitually used so many Toda words that the Todas sometimes obviously knew the general drift of my questions before they were interpreted to them, and, similarly, I could often understand the general drift of the answer.

The first principle of my investigation was to obtain independent accounts from different people; I then compared these independent accounts and cross-examined into any discrepancies. The general result of this method was highly

124 satisfactory from the point of view of Toda veracity. The
184 general agreement of the accounts obtained from different individuals was very striking, and, whenever discrepancies occurred, it was nearly always found that they were due either to misunderstanding or to differences in the practices of different sections of the Toda people. These differences are so great that in many cases it made a rigorous application of the method of direct corroboration impossible. There are distinct differences in the ceremonial and social customs of the two chief divisions of the Todas and some differences in the practices of different clans. In the investigation of the dairy ritual, there were found to be great differences in the practices of different dairies, and, for the practice of any one dairy, I had sometimes to be content with the information of one native only; but I did not content myself with such independent accounts till I had satisfied myself of the trustworthiness of the witness, and had learnt enough of the customs in question to be in a position to weigh the evidence. As regards the differences in the customs of different sections of the community, many of my informants were able to describe the practices not only of their own section but also of others.

124 After a time I managed to put myself on such terms with my chief informants that they were always ready to confess any deficiencies in their knowledge and would refer me to others whose special experience would make them more satisfactory informants. Occasionally, however, they carried this a little too far and pleaded ignorance of a subject when they were really only reluctant to reveal the more esoteric knowledge.

Still more important than this method of direct corroboration of independent accounts is what I may call the method of indirect corroboration. By this I mean the method of obtaining the same information in different ways. Often this indirect corroboration occurred accidentally. The whole of Toda ceremonial and social life forms such an intricate web of closely related practices that I rarely set out to investigate some one aspect of the life of the people without obtaining information bearing on many other wholly different

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aspects, and the information so gained often afforded valuable corroboration of what I had been told on other occasions and by other individuals. Thus, in obtaining a prayer, various matters would arise which would confirm the accuracy of a legend obtained weeks earlier, or the investigation of a funeral custom would lead to the indirect corroboration of evidence concerning the regulation of marriage.

The most important way in which this method of indirect corroboration may be intentionally applied is by obtaining the same information first in an abstract form and then by means of a number of concrete instances. As an example of what I mean I may cite the method by which I inquired into the laws of inheritance of property. I first obtained an account of what was done in the abstract—of the laws governing the inheritance of houses, the division of the buffaloes and other property among the children, &c. Next I gave a number of hypothetical concrete instances; I took cases of men with so many children and so many buffaloes, and repeating the cases I found that my informant gave answers which were consistent not only with one another but also with the abstract regulations previously given. Finally I took real persons and inquired into what had actually happened when A or B died, and again obtained a body of information consistent in itself and agreeing with that already obtained.

By far my most valuable instrument of inquiry was that provided by the genealogical method.[1] The Todas preserve in their memories the names of all their ancestors and relatives extending back for several generations. In the tables given at the end of this book, I have recorded the pedigrees of seventy-two families, including the whole of the Toda community. Whenever the name of a man was mentioned in connexion with ceremony or social custom, his name was found in the genealogical record and the relation was ascertained in which he stood towards others participating in the ceremony or custom. By this means a concrete element was brought into the work which greatly facilitated inquiry.

[1] See chapter XX and *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1900, vol. xxx., p. 74.

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Customs and rites were investigated by means of concrete examples in which the people taking part were real people to me as well as to my informants. In a later chapter I shall consider more fully the *rôle* of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. I mention them here to give a preliminary indication of the extensive part they played in my investigations. In order to give my readers the opportunity of following my method in some measure for themselves, I have given after the name of any individual mentioned in the book the number of the genealogical table in which his name occurs; thus "Kòdrner (7)" means that Kòdrner is a member of the family of which the pedigree is recorded in Table 7.

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I have already referred to the trustworthiness of the evidence given by the Todas. I must now speak of the great differences in this respect shown by different individuals. Some would give full and elaborate accounts of ceremonial which close investigation showed to be, so far as one could tell, thoroughly accurate. Others gave careless and slovenly accounts, full of omissions and inaccuracies of detail, though they rarely said anything which was distinctly untrue.

After some experience had been gained, one day's work was usually sufficient to enable me to make up my mind whether a man was a careful witness, and if he did not seem to be so, he was not again called upon for help. Different men were known to have especial acquaintance with certain branches of knowledge, and I always endeavoured to obtain such people. In the case of the religious ritual, it was not practicable to make use, to any great extent, of men actually holding any of the sacred offices, but I always had recourse to people who had held these offices and were personally familiar with the ceremonial.

Among the many aspects of social life and religion, I soon found that there were some about which there was no reticence, and these could be discussed in public with men, women, or children standing by and perhaps taking part. There were others which were of a more sacred nature, and, if they were approached in public, it was immediately obvious

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that the people were ill at ease and their answers became hesitating and unsatisfactory. After a short time I adopted the practice of devoting the mornings to my psychological work and to the discussion of affairs of a non-sacred character. In the afternoons I had private interviews with one individual at a time, or occasionally two. If I approached any dangerous topic during the morning, my guide made me a sign and I changed the subject, to return to it at an afternoon sitting. 1240

In the investigation of all the more sacred ceremonies, it was found to be best that the narrator should be alone. He knew that he was telling what should not be told and was embarrassed if any other Todas were there to hear him.

One of the difficulties of anthropological inquiry is that the good and trustworthy narrators are often the most reticent. They are trustworthy because they are honest and pious members of their community, and are therefore naturally reluctant to offend against the sanctity of their religious customs by talking of them to a stranger. Some of my best informants were such men, who were gradually led on to tell me far more than they had ever intended, and then, having told me so much about a given subject, they would sometimes throw reticence to the winds and tell me all. It was very instructive in such a case to start a fresh topic which I knew to be forbidden ground and observe the complete change of attitude. One old man who had entirely lost his scruples in our absorption in the details of dairy ritual absolutely refused to speak a word when I turned to the subject of animal sacrifice, and for this and some other topics I had to be content with less scrupulous but at the same time less trustworthy witnesses.

I only found one Toda who was deliberately untruthful, and yet he was so much less reticent and less scrupulous than others that I often had to have recourse to his services. After I had been able to convict him more than once of having given unsatisfactory evidence, he was more accurate, but I was especially careful to check and obtain independent accounts of everything he told me, and I have only

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 127 While I was working I had by me the books or papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

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184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *pok*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpok*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy.

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people.

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pûl*, and there is a special part of the *pûl* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mòdr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring.

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukadr*, and for the calf-pen, *tulkadr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kadr*.

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234x 221 233 778 783 796 621 Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr- and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits. Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nasmiòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas. It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

Migrations of the Village Buffaloes

[124]

234x 221 796 My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete. The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day

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of this nature, and still less does it follow that the performances of all the *teuol* are of this kind. Nothing struck me more than the contrast between the frenzied condition of Midjkudr and the calm, ordinary demeanour of Mongudrvan, his fellow diviner.

In the case I have described the necessity for the intervention of the diviner arose out of the funeral proceedings, but it appears to be not uncommon for divination to be practised during funerals. Both Mr. Walhouse and Mr. Thurston have seen the process of divining going on at funerals. In Mr. Thurston's case he notes that the diviners talked in Malayalam, and offered an explanation of a gigantic figure which had suddenly appeared and as suddenly disappeared some time previously.

SORCERY

I met with greater difficulties in discovering the methods of sorcery than in any other branch of my work. It was quite certain that there were men called *pilintpol* (sorcery praying people), or *pilikòren*, who had the reputation of possessing magical powers, comprised together under the title *pilintvichi* or *pilintiti*. I was able to obtain the names of these people from several sources, but when I approached any one of them on the subject he professed total ignorance and usually suggested that I should apply to some other man, who, he said, was a real *pilintpol*. Occasionally someone would give me a fragment of information, but would impress on me carefully that he had heard it from somebody else and did not know whether it was true or false.

One or two men, who were certainly not sorcerers, told me that they hoped that I should succeed in finding out the methods and would tell them, for they said that the Todas who had no magical powers were always trying to find out the methods of the sorcerers and were never successful.

I was told by two men that they believed that a sorcerer, by merely thinking of the effect he wished to produce, could produce the effect, and that it was not necessary for him to use any magical formula or practise any special rites.

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124 It was not until my last week on the Nilgiris that I was
754 told of some of the magical rites by Teitnir, who had previously
791 denied all knowledge, though he was said by others to be a sorcerer, and he knew that I was aware of his reputation. He was not a trustworthy informant, but his account was consistent in itself and was in agreement with fragments which I had picked up elsewhere, and I believe it is correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy with the same degree of confidence which I feel in regard to most of my information.

754 The following men were said by various people to be
791 *pilikòren* :—

Kaners, Kudrievan, and Teikudr (63), Ishkievan (60), Keinkursi (54), Puthion (64), and Teitnir (52), among the Teivaliol ; Keitan (6), Mudrigeidi (1), Kiunervan and Usheidi (14), and Karseidi (8), among the Tartharol. Pushteidi, the elder brother of Keitan, was a noted sorcerer who paid for the belief in his magical powers with his life. It will be noted that magical powers appear to be fairly evenly distributed between the two divisions and do not greatly predominate in one as in the case of divination.

[868] The power of sorcery was said to belong to certain families, and I was told that it was inherited. It seemed probable that a sorcerer only communicated his methods to his sons, and usually only to one of his sons, or if he communicated his knowledge to all, it was often one of them only who obtained the credit for magical powers.

754 We have already seen that when a man sustains a mis-
787 fortune of any kind, he consults the diviners, and they find
791 whether the misfortune is due to a fault committed by the sufferer or whether it is the result of sorcery. In the latter case, they say by whose magic the misfortune has been produced, and the sorcerer is then propitiated and removes the spell, the nature and details of the process varying according to the method of sorcery used and the offence which had led the sorcerer to exert his powers. Thus when Pirsners (9) fell ill, he consulted Midjkudr, who said that Kudrievan had bewitched him. Pirsners went to Kudrievan and gave him food, and asked him to remove the spell, and Pirsners became well soon after.

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754 When the misfortune comes, and the diviners have dis-
789 covered its cause, the matter is arranged by a *nedrvol* as in
539 the other kind of sorcery, and it is usually settled that the
791 sufferer shall give a one- or a two-year-old calf to the sorcerer. When the matter is arranged, the sorcerer visits the village of the bewitched man, who does *kalmelpudithti* to the sorcerer, and the spell is removed with the following words:—

ten udâsnûdr, an nôdr udâsnûdr; taned pen mâ; term ai pen mâ[1]*; moth*
son

madrik an kûdûpel elmk; in mel en mans elm tûlsvinem
children to his family all to; this after my mind all cleared from guilt

in uli agi âmâ; niv put, nudri put pen mâ.
(as I) this well be may; disease leave, troubles leave go may.

The sorcerer is then given food and goes away with his calf, and later he goes secretly and takes the bone or lime out of the ground.

● 124 I have already mentioned that these methods of casting and
754 removing spells were obtained with great difficulty and only
578 from one man. This man, Teitnir, was one of the most intelligent of the Todas, but was not a very trustworthy guide. In this case, however, the account he gave was so consistent in itself and with the general character of Toda customs and beliefs that I have no doubt that his methods are those actually in use. It is more than probable, however, that other sorcerers may use other methods, and even that Teitnir's account is not a wholly accurate description of the methods of any one sorcerer. The other Todas had told me that Teitnir was himself a sorcerer, but even after he had given me the above account, he denied that he had himself magical powers, but said that he had learnt the methods from Ishkievan. I had been told of one instance in which Teitnir had practised sorcery on Teikudr (63), but Teitnir gave a different account of this event. Teitnir and Teikudr had quarrelled and in consequence Teitnir had been angry with Teikudr, a condition which the Todas call *murthvichi*. Teitnir belonged to the chief family of the Kuudrol, which is known as the *mani kudupel*; "it is a bad thing for one of so im-

[1] For the meaning of this see above.

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portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death.

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain.

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs (6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account.

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes

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that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I have no information, however, as to the method which the sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any one who has offended him.

The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub*= Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied. If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

IN this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten. The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* ("male buffalo we kill") or *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*. I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumpttkpimi* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teutütusthchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *etudwad*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same completeness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

173 601 551 784 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead.

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure.

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect.

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres*

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Value of the Genealogical Record

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies.

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda
173 funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would
601 probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

123 I think that my familiarity with the names and circum-
124 stances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

The Trustworthiness of the Genealogies

Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

124 agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later
128 work with one account, though every now and again I went
173 over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When
601 I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.[1] In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

128 There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the
173 existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely
601 due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

[1] For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

125 128 blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

128 173 601 This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

Buffalo Pedigrees

124 173 234 Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was told all there was to tell.

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

The Toda Population

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object-lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the
124 practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
521 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
177 data show that the excess of men is far greater in the
184 Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
847 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. METZ the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. METZ, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

untutored races, to realise justly and without exaggeration, what it really is, and—by analogy—what it must have been in the pre-historic era, long ere 'Adam delved and Eve spun,' *before man had much developed in manly qualities.*

I have actually witnessed most of the scenes here described. Such of the remainder as are not otherwise authorised, I have compiled from direct narrative of the most reliable Todas.

Whilst hoping, though not without some misgivings, that the ugly statistics collected with so much care, and the speculations advanced to account physiologically for the origin of obscure customs, may have some slight value, even to the savant, I am sanguine that the antique practices now brought to light, and the illustrations I have attempted of every-day life, may render the book acceptable to the general reader. I may say, that great and especial pains have been taken to render as large a portion of the work as the subject permits, attractive, and suited for ladies' reading.

A few words of explanation are perhaps called for; to account for my having devoted an entire chapter to the description of some of the first principles of phrenology—a subject which is fully treated in standard works by acknowledged authorities. I wished primarily, to show the premises forming the basis for many conjectures which otherwise would have borne too much the appearance of dogmatism, or that might have been misunderstood. Secondly, I desired to show for phrenology, a marked practical value for ethnological purposes: and no single work containing, with clearness

CHAP. IV.

153 Toda blood may ever arise to influence the tribe, yet what they do know, they know well. They are intelligent within limits. Although they take contracted views of things, yet they work and act within the circumscribed limits of their mental vision with great steadiness, intelligence, and some sense.

124 153 I am indebted to the quick-wittedness and patience of both men and women, for the accuracy and definition of the information on the manners and customs of the tribe which I have been able to afford. I cannot present a stronger tribute to their frank and obliging communicativeness, than in stating that we made a habit of very close cross-questioning in tiny villages for three and four hours together. One woman well earned the title of Munshi, by telling us at a sitting the Toda words for the long list of relations given in Chapter VII. Notwithstanding the questions were often repeated, and many of them puzzling, she kept her head quite clear throughout, dexterously speaking with slowness and marked intonation, showing pointedly with tongue and teeth, how the syllables of the difficult words should be pronounced.

153 Though their brains became fatigued sooner than ours did, I doubt if they tired more quickly than would those of illiterate peasants in other parts of the world.

302 Travellers have affirmed that the Todas stain their skin by the use of a blue colour; but I have ascertained, both by personal inspection and by direct enquiry, that this statement is incorrect. Dark races are apt to have the skin in some portions of the body naturally of three or even four shades darker tint than in others, indeed often so strikingly dark as to give the impression that those parts had been stained. This peculiarity is nowhere more remarkable than in the nape of the neck. I have often observed it amongst the Sikhs, and it is quite apart from freckling or the effects of exposure. I noticed it so very much the case in one young woman, that I asked her if she had coloured it. The reply convinced me

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER X.

CENSUS.

Mode of taking Census—Census Table—Todas hide nothing but Number of Cattle—Review of the Table—Crowding—Number of Todas—Vital Statistics—Does the Tribe increase, or is it dying out?

CHAP. X.

'AMONG the various objects of Political Economy, one of the most important and interesting,' wrote Dugald Stewart, 'has been always understood to be the augmentation of the numbers of the people.'[1]

I am about to lay before my readers the *bonâ fide* results of a detailed census (Table No. 3), taken by me in the year 1870, of a considerable portion of the Toda tribe. It will be found to well repay close scrutiny; for more precise information as regards actual domestic custom and the social condition of very primitive races can be deduced from what at first sight will appear to be a mere collection of dry facts and figures, than from a far larger amount of written description of events.

A second sheet, termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' recorded at the time of taking the census, will be found in Table No. 4.

Both of these tables were compiled with as much scrupulous care and accuracy as could probably have well been bestowed on them. The process of collecting information was as follows;—Arriving at each village, every soul, male and female, old and young, would be summoned before us. The

[1] Dugald Stewart, 'Lectures on Political Economy.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. X.

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women would invariably be placed in front; as it would be from them we should obtain information of the nature we required for census purposes; experience telling us that on points of mere family lore, they, without fail, are more reliable and intelligent than the men. It is they especially who know of the births, deaths, and marriages, and who can compare the dates of those interesting family events, by the heights, or comparative ages of individuals in the group standing before them.

At first we found the people in front of us, an apprehensive little assembly. The women, squatting on the ground, would close up together, looking shyly at us from the corners of the eye. The men, seated about on the surrounding-wall, were surly and suspicious. Breathless boys, who, hearing of the gentlemen's arrival at their Mand, had run in from buffalo-tending, stood open-mouthed, leaning on their sticks. The girls would stroll about, nursing the babies, now and then crouching in to the houses, to look after the fire which their mothers had been invited to leave. After a general explanation of our object in paying their retired home this very unexpected visit—most carefully avoiding all allusion to the subject of infanticide—and following on a judicious distribution of small coin, made amongst the infants, in order to open the mothers' hearts, we would commence our examination.

One woman at a time. She points out her husbands, her boys, her girls: accounts for the absent; one tending cattle, one the dairyman, two gone to collect kutu: and describes her relationship to the other males and females in the Mand.

What chance had such a simple people of eluding us, when enquiry took the form of a series of most unimportant questions? Not the most suspicious would object to tell if their parents were alive or dead: and what relation the members of the group were to one another. When was your daughter married, my good woman, and how many

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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boys and how many girls have you? So sorry to hear you lost two daughters and a son. How old were they? And so on, and so on we went, examining one woman after another, and village after village. Had they shown, at any time, a desire to deceive—which, as regards human population, they never did—we could have readily detected the attempt, and outwitted them. A striking characteristic of the Todas is their inability to avoid giving an answer; but as the reply will, however, not always be true, leading questions should be avoided as much as possible. If you wish to ascertain a fact; undermine it, stalk it down, follow up enquiries with others that test it. Their only recipe to avoid answering a disagreeable query, is to tell a lie; a lie as palpable as that of a child.

My belief is, that, with the exception of the number of their cattle, they have nothing to hide. Now as there is no way of stalking down such a subject, and they will not, or cannot, tell you truly how many head there are in the village herd: and the Mands are situated wide apart over the hills: and the cattle are not driven home till evening; I was unable to count the buffalos myself, or to form any test of the numbers which they told me. I have therefore left that subject an open question. The food supply is one that I have not been able to determine, even approximately.

To some minds this may appear to be an imperfect census; both because the inhabitants of all villages were not taken on the same day, and because every soul was not actually present. Practically speaking, it is as accurate as could be obtained, and nearly as perfect as could be desired; for the people are very primitive and the Mands are very small—containing from two to five houses or rooms—the inhabitants have few pursuits to lead them away from home, and on cloudy cold days they rarely go abroad. Above all, ignorance of the fact that they were being numbered, robbed them of object in deceit.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XI.

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

CHAP. XI.

it is advisable to mention, that although as much patient care was taken to collect the evidence it contains, with the same accuracy as that bestowed on the Census, yet there are reasons why it could not be attained. For the latter purpose the people were nearly all present; whereas in the process of collecting statistics, dependence had, in the main, to be placed on the statement of uneducated people describing births and deaths, many of which took place long years before. Supposing even they remembered in all cases the number of each sex that died, they would still have to represent their own notions of the ages at which they did so, and the period that had elapsed since those events happened. All, therefore, that can with confidence be asserted, is, that the best was done in the face of these inevitable difficulties to eliminate error.

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For instance—and one will suffice—if it was required to ascertain the particulars of a child who had died. The mother was present; the husband also sat close by. Some relation, also present, had a wife, or husband, or child, as the case might be, who had been a playfellow of the departed. Or the child was said by its mother to have been either so much older or so much younger than one standing before us.

For the sake of those who wish to utilise the statistics, Table No. 5 has been compiled from Table No. 4,† which will render it easy to extract the most valuable points of information.

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In order to obtain reliable data on which to base deductions as to Toda nature and Toda progress, it seems a matter sufficiently important, to record with all the exactness that available information admits of, certain averages relative to the size of families, and the ages at which their women commence and also leave off child-bearing. The details of these points of information, collated from Tables No. 4 or 5, will, therefore, be found tabulated in Nos. 6 and 7 Tables. A point has been made, not to omit any of the instances of Table 4 or 5, that might prove of value; only the women in child-marriages, or those who having lately married, have not yet given birth to progeny, have been left out.

† [Table No 4 appears on pp. 112-113 Category 116 or 162 --Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

CHAP. XIV.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person*.

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person*.

The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard*. In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV.

fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence, he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied, 'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for the time being is not merely the casket containing divine attributes, but *is himself a God.*

Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence, are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature, sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time of relief.

The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive the existence of any very mystic rites among them. Whatever is done in these tirièris, is known to every intelligent

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

234 788 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely [124] on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 234 788 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful, more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain degree of change in the course of generations. How can there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 793 778 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family and relations during the period of their holy vocctions. The pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tirièri or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name, being known only as the pâlâl of such a tirièri.

554 793 These sacred characters may however resign their posts when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

234 Having ascertained that the tiriêri, with its sacred herd and its mani dêr, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pâlâl had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him. CHAP. XVI.

We must see the inside of a tiriêri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriêri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriêri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Bültaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriêri. You are an old pâlâl. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriêri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pâlâl would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pâlâl bring them outside that we may view

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVI.

them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.

'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex*-pâlâl—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tirièri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

'with her enclosure green
As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Except the single notes of birds, rich-sounding in the vibrations of the deep wood: the distant nervous warble of the lark overhead, and the hum of the busy bee in its hurry, not a single sound is to be heard over the whole wide expanse. The tirièri cattle are browsing far away in the surrounding hollows: or like specks, may be seen dotting the sides of the distant hills.

The vertical sun is omnipresent. The holy men, I have said, were away.

Out on the extreme west is the single Makurti Peak,[3] 'where the sun goes down.' Beyond is amnôr.

How near simple appositeness approaches to taste, where the country is lovely and the subject purely bucolic! Do I confuse the sense, with taste for scenery, or have I hitherto done the Toda intellect an injustice? Such are my reflections as I note this perfectly selected site. When I now remember that the funeral-Mands—of which we shall shortly read—which I have seen, are certainly free from marked beauty, I must at least acknowledge their appreciation in the advantage and suitability of locality to be a perfect talent. Had the Toda really a love for the beautiful apart from utility, would he not have some words in his language, or a flower about his house to express the taste?

Looking at the superb glow with which the sun lights up equatorial landscapes, one ceases to wonder at, but indeed admires the instinct which leads those born and bred under its influence, to worship *light*.

Pâlâls have not returned. No occupation then but to bully our Toda. This is done till he tries to escape questions by feigning sleepiness. Keep him in motion! 'Who erected those two stones?' 'The pâlâls, who tired of their solitude, raised them to while away time.' Never! The man is sleepy! Todas bring two large rocks about four feet long each, up a steep hill, without an object! Never! Practical, lazy, Toda!

[3] See note 2 of Chapter V.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVI.

Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us. Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are approaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline, and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[1] had come up to about ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the mani from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

[1] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'!

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before.

No. 19.

RELIC GODS—MAṢI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

. . . . Of thee
Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.

DANTE, *Paradise.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVI.

longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad. 124

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life. 763 292

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way. 763

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man. 593 764 842

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into 764

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

attending the census, and the personal care bestowed on it, to obtain genuine results, I have every reason to think that the record of those *alive*, is as nearly correct as possible: but I have not the same confidence as regards those who had died. I attribute much of this inaccuracy to the imperfect memory of the people, in describing events long past—a person once dead, being rarely talked about—but very largely also to their habit of ignoring the gentler sex.

That such a habit should really exist, was suggested to my mind, on observing how much girls were left out of count when they described the numbers in families, and of how great importance the birth of a son was esteemed. If a Toda is asked how many children—kinmokh—he has, his reply will almost invariably be, so many sons—mokh:[9] and if further information is desired as to his daughters, one has to specify tûjmokh. On one occasion a father replied to the usual enquiry, 'I have five sons.' 'Where are they?' 'There—1, 2, 3, 4, 5.' I could only see four. Two or three times the numbers were gone over, each time the man gravely counting five, I finding only four. So, pointing to each in succession, I enumerated 1—2—3—4. Where is the fifth? 'There,' he said, pointing to his *wife*, who quietly nodded approval. It seems that the good woman had not yet given birth to the child which both parents had agreed to consider a *son*!

Viewing human action, ever as the resultant of many forces —passions, necessities, emotions, habits—pulling in divers directions, with various degrees of strength; we find that the Todas very early in the world's history, practically solved the difficult physical problem of finding the condition of equilibrium of those especial forces which affected them; how, in fact, to *stand still* in a world, the law of whose nature is that of perpetual change—a remarkable example of the

[9] Mr. Metz asserts positively that the word mokh is used by the Todas for *son*, and not for *child*. In other Drâvidian dialects it may have expanded in its application so as to mean children, both male and female.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

175 "oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure "the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also "into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something "of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do "not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

173 The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning 173 of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

124 A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his 533 people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there 538 were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought 173 about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought 173 about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us, 176 "have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālkhis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,** *and Nātanēri hill*,† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

124 Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards, 539 finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda, 173 great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mīttināḍ mund, near the top of the Seglūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Coonoor road.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

55/614 very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tõm, a son of piḷjog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because [237] honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kurũwṭoṷ, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tõm) has just been analyzed, and one, piḷjuɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tõũfiḷjoṷ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroṷ sib, belonging to the toɪrθaroṷ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθaroṷ sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kurũwṭoṷ and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piṭoṷ have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tõũfiḷjoṷ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any [124] definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association [533] with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

551/193 §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274–290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti:-dairies; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti:-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti:-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known;

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 114 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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159 621 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth; the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] [754] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly, nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, always with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children, whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*; but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say no to her.

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(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties, and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much consideration.

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(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered prematurely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five, but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals, fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her, even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of her good nature.

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us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month. The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment. The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poli*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

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not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mad* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air.

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the on-looking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar.

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.)

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me.

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made

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Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

APPENDIX 2

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In all four fields of my ethnographical research, Ceylon, Kerala, the Nilgiris and the Himalayas, I was obliged to make use of informants and interpreters in order to carry out the work. Only in Kalimpong, when I had set up my headquarters there from 1950 to 1956, did I eventually do without interpreters, having learnt Tibetan sufficiently well towards 1952 to be able to dispense with assistance of this kind. Nevertheless, I remained, of course, dependent on informants.

To all these helpers in the field I am extremely grateful, because without their aid it would have been impossible to carry out the ethnographic study. Except for Kerala, where I have been expressly asked not to make any specific mentions, I would like to thank each and every one personally by name. In the case of the interpreter with whom I worked among the Todas, I would also like to give a short synopsis of his personality and life-history, because it appears to me essential that it is realized fully through what human medium the necessary information was gathered and contact with the tribe established.

In Ceylon, concerning Mr. G. H. Ellawala with whom I worked in Ratnapura, I cannot sufficiently express how great is my debt towards him. Not only did he take time off to accompany me to the dwellings of some of his poorest and most humble tenants (and all those of my readers who know the Orient will appreciate what this means), but he also acted as interpreter himself during our visits and supplied me with much honest and outspoken information in explanation of the material that I was gathering. Long after I had left Ceylon, he furthermore very willingly wrote to me additional data of which I was in need, replying promptly and fully to the, sometimes for him, obscure questions which I put to him about marriage rules and the patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups in the Kandyan provinces.

In Kerala, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the managing director of the Metal Industries Ltd., Shoranur, Sri A. N. Poduval, I

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was able to park my caravan in the compound of the factory, and from there to conduct my work in the surrounding villages, both in the Walluvanad taluk and in north Cochin. I am greatly indebted to the then Collector of Malabar, Sri Prasad, for the assistance rendered to me during my stay in Kerala, for without this help it would not have been possible to gather so much information in so short a time.

Thanks are also due to Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, my fellow-student at the London School of Economics where we both attended the seminars and lectures of the late Professor Br. Malinowski. Through Dr. Aiyappan's never failing advice and active interest I saved considerable time and effort in going straight to that part of Kerala most propitious for the study of polyandry.

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While working in the Nilgiris, both before and after World War II, it would have been good to have been able to speak Toda. It would have enabled me to gather information direct, which would have been an incomparable asset during my long period of research in that area. From the wider point of view, it did not seem worth while, however, to go to the trouble of learning Toda. It is spoken by only a very small number of individuals who, being themselves illiterate, have no literature at all. It is besides a Dravidian tongue, and therefore difficult for Europeans to master quickly. I felt that I would prefer to concentrate later on acquiring Tibetan, something which would be of far wider use to me in very many fields other than the relatively narrow study of polyandry.

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I therefore turned down the idea of learning the language and, because of this, was obliged to work through an interpreter. In the choice of the latter, I was exceptionally fortunate. Very early, during the first months of my stay in the Nilgiris, in the summer of 1939, thanks to the help of Miss C. F. Ling of the Church of England Zenana Mission, I got to know Kanvarsathi-Sunderdoss, a Christian Toda convert, who had previously served Dr. M. B. Emeneau, of the University of California at Berkeley, in a like capacity, for three years, and who was to prove just as excellent an assistant to me as he had been to this predecessor of mine among the Todas.

Kanvarsathi, although belonging to the little colony of Christian Todas described by Emeneau (*The Christian Todas*, see Bibliography), was far from having developed an aversion for his heathen fellows. What was more, he was liked and accepted to a remarkable degree by the latter, a most happy state of affairs when it came to making use of